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[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

The Transvaal Labour Question.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

A LARGE proportion of our space in this number has to be devoted to the various phases of this question, which, in addition to its own intrinsic importance, has been specially prominent owing to the publication of several bulky parliamentary papers as well as to the circumstances connected with the introduction of the Chinese labourers into South Africa, and the problems which their arrival entails.

TREATMENT OF NATIVES ON THE MINES.

A debate took place in the House of Commons on May 6, when Major Seely moved the adjournment of the House on the question of the cruel treatment of natives on the mines. The facts to which Major Seely called attention have since been published in an important Blue Book (Cd. 2025). This also formed the subject of a debate in the House of Lords on June 20th, which turned especially on the question of the high death rate among the natives employed.

This Blue Book contains some significant despatches which have passed between the Colonial Secretary and Lord Milner on the conditions of native labour in the mines and the mortality therein, besides the Annual Report of the Commissioner for Native Affairs, Sir Godfrey Lagden, for the year ending June, 1903, and reports of District Native Commissioners. It appears that a representative native deputation was appointed last year by the Cape Government to visit the Johannesburg mines and investigate the conditions, with a view to discovering the reason for the unpopularity among Cape natives of the work on the Rand. Mr. Brownlee, Resident Magistrate of Butterworth, was at the head of the deputation, consisting of seventeen native headmen from different districts, which visited the Transvaal in September last and made the most thorough enquiry possible in the time.

In forwarding Mr. Brownlee's report, the Chief Magistrate wrote:—

"The enquiry, I think, clearly establishes that misrepresentations with regard to wages are made by the Labour Agents, that occasionally wrongful

deductions are imposed ; assaults by European overseers and the Native Police are of frequent occurrence, and that the system pursued in calculating the time for which wages are due is not intelligible to the ordinary native, and is the cause of much of the distrust existing. If these defects are remedied I have no doubt that some of the objections which the Transkeian natives now have to going to Johannesburg would be removed. But the wages paid are undoubtedly less than before the war, and as long as the natives can obtain more remunerative labour elsewhere, the labour supply to the goldfields is not likely to be much augmented from these sources."

Mr. Brownlee states that the enquiry which they carried out was a difficult and delicate one, conducted as it always was in the presence of the employers, but he thinks that the conclusions may be regarded as fairly correct.

The treatment, he says, is generally good ; while they came across some instances of ill-treatment, the employers are anxious to make the labourers' condition as congenial to them as possible, and have appointed inspectors to receive complaints.

The food provided was found on the whole to be sufficient and wholesome, and we note that there are no complaints on this score in the reports of the headmen which follow.

Mr. Brownlee speaks well of the accommodation and sanitation, but of the complaints which he received, the most serious related to the pay of the labourers :—

"The complaint is of a two-fold nature, firstly, that men have been paid at a very much lower rate than that promised them by recruiting agents. In the great majority of compounds that we visited this complaint was made, and though the Labour Association authorities strenuously insisted that this state of affairs could not exist, I am satisfied that it does."

One man who had been engaged at the rate of £3-15s. a month was told—

"that the recruiting agent had only been making love to him, that the rate of pay was only 50s., and that if he did not accept that he would obtain no work ; he was a stranger in a strange land, and felt himself in a manner constrained to accept the terms offered him, and so sought the earliest opportunity of escaping."

Another point connected with the pay which leads to trouble is a confusion between the monthly and daily rates. The contract rate is 1s. 8d. and 2s. a day for surface and mine work respectively, according to locality :—

"Should a boy work every day in the month, he may earn £2. 10s. and £3. Now were this explained to the boys, and they clearly understood that they were paid by the day, and pay would be docked for any day not worked for, and the payment made punctually at the end of the month for the days actually worked, there would be no ground for complaint ; but the boy is first told that he is to get £2. 10s. or £3 a month, and thinks he is a monthly servant, then in the Association Compound he is told he will be paid so much a day, and finally in the Mine Compound he is told that he will be paid for 30 days' work, the effect of this

being that if through any fortuitous circumstances in any given month a boy has been able to work, say only 25 days, he will have to go on and work five days into the next month before he receives his pay, and an element of confusion and dissatisfaction is at once introduced, while to make confusion worse confounded the further element of notice becomes involved."

On the question of the sufficiency or otherwise of the rates now paid, Mr. Brownlee does not pronounce an opinion, but he emphasizes (writing in October last) the probability of the introduction of Chinese labourers into the mines, and he thinks that if they get a foothold, very few natives will be afterwards drawn from the Cape Colony.

Another point of complaint was the use of the stick by the Native Police on the compounds, or, as Mr. Brownlee terms it, the "gentle stimulus" of cowhide:—

"That there is ground for this complaint I think there can be no doubt, and at the Geldenhuis Deep, where there are a number of Pondos employed, a native policeman in our presence began an impartial administration of this form of stimulation to the crowd which surrounded us, and when asked why he did it replied that he wished thereby to show his respect for us, and to remove the crowd which he said he thought was causing annoyance. Whether this practice was universal or not, what, at any rate, was noticeable, was that almost without exception the Compound Police carried sjamboks, and at the Village Deep, where a number of boys from the Transkeian Territories are employed, there were complaints of this hustling by the Compound Police."

Again, complaints were made at various of the compounds that boys were punished by being put in the stocks, but it was ascertained that these had been done away with by the late Government, and that by order of the present Government all stocks had been collected and burned. Refractory or dilatory boys are, however, still incarcerated in the cells in which the stocks used to be kept, and on this punishment Mr. Brownlee comments strongly as follows:—

"This, it is needless to say, places in the hands of compound managers very great powers, and powers which should be used with a very great deal of discretion, as very often a boy might have to wait several days in a cell before his case could be investigated by the Inspector. That the administration of a certain amount of corporal correction by the compound managers exists will, I think, be admitted after a reference to the notes of an interview I had with the Chairman of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, copy of which I attach. I do not think that any power of this nature should be left in the hands of the compound managers, more especially in view of the fact that there are a number of Government Inspectors of Compounds whose duty it is periodically to visit the compounds and investigate all charges against labourers."

In the notes of the interview here referred to, Mr. Brownlee states:—

"I cannot get over an impression that the Native Police at compounds are in the habit of hustling boys and quickening their movements by a gentle application of cowhide. I do not think the men like this. A great complaint which

has been very general throughout the mines we have visited is that of men receiving less pay than that at which they were recruited."

The Chairman of the W. N. L. A. stated, with regard to the question of ill-treatment that he had looked into the matter personally and had investigated complaints:—

"I really feel satisfied that the mine authorities in one instance where they used a certain amount of corporal correction were entitled to do so. This particular instance was one of insubordination. The headman of the gang, after repeated warnings, continued to incite the remainder of the gang to stop work and disregard reasonable and proper instructions on the part of the mine officials. This was the most serious complaint that has been brought forward to my knowledge, and, as I say, it appeared to me as one which called for correction on the part of the mine officials. There are also complaints about natives being hustled out of the compounds in the morning by the native police. That was made at the Robinson Mine. The compound manager stated that the Cape Colony natives were very dilatory in turning out in the morning. He warned them considerably for over a week, and it was only after that, and after disregard of these warnings, that the police took the action they did in hustling them out."

The statements of the native delegates who visited the mines, contain, as the Acting Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories says, a general corroboration of Mr. Brownlee's remarks, emphasizing such points as misrepresentation of labour agents in regard to wages, deduction of railway fares from wages, want of comfort on the railway lines, defects in the Pass Regulations, ill-treatment by Zulu and Shangaan overseers, forced labour on Sundays and during sickness, etc. From these reports we extract some characteristic passages from the evidence of different delegates:—

CHIEF SIPENDU.

"TREATMENT.—Under this heading I would say that, taking it as a whole, it is unsatisfactory . . . There are all sorts of complaints by the boys; that they are sjamboked and bullied by these stupid indunas; and that when sick they are not allowed to go home"—

"WAGES.—These are very low at all the compounds with the exception of Krugersdorp. Again, here the wages are reasonable. They run from 50s. to £4. At Johannesburg they are from £1 to £2. 10s. It appears that the Native Labour Association is at the bottom of this trouble. The boys complain that they are promised higher wages by recruiting agents, which, on arrival, they are denied."

"Some other means ought to be devised. Native labourers are being sjamboked and beaten, and ill-treated in many other ways by their European overseers and indunas; so much so that boys wish to call back the days of the Republic, when the Boer dominated, stating that they were better treated then and received better wages for their work. This brutal treatment, combined as it is, with very low wages, is enough to keep natives away from Johannesburg. Treat them fairly, pay them fairly, and labourers will flow to labour centres."

"Throw away the sjambok and pay from £3 to £4 per month, and you will see the result.

"Natives are checked by European overseers and indunas, and low wages, from flocking to Johannesburg. Do away with forcing boys to buy at compound shops, and allow them to buy where they can and where they choose."

MAGODLA.

"The treatment of the native labourers at Johannesburg is very very bad. There are no wages to speak of paid to them, because what they receive is equal to that paid to leaders of transport wagons in this country. In some compounds the monthly wages are at the rate of 30s. to 50s. per month, and not more. Two or three compounds, whose wages are fair, give 70s. to 80s. per month, and yet the labour done is more than the wages.

"The sjambok and the stick are used freely by Europeans from Natal and Zulu policemen. Native labourers who go to Johannesburg for work, and those who are unemployed are sold for 6s. per head after being confined for six days in a place called Pass Office. In this office it was said to them they were being detained to prevent their being arrested. Whoever requires labourers buys them, and a contract specifying what amount the employer offers to take the labourers at is entered into, and the labourers for whatever they have performed will never receive any satisfaction from the time they are confined or shut up in the compounds up to the time of the expiration of the contract. Nothing but bitterness.

"Those who are sick and incapable of working are prohibited from returning to their homes, even if they desire so to do, and yet many have recovered from various diseases by so doing.

"I was pleased in regard to their comforts. Food is good and plentiful, bedrooms and dormitories are comfortable, drinking water and bathrooms good.

"In my opinion, I say that Government must stop ill-treatment of labourers. Wages must be increased equal to those paid before the war, viz., from £4 to £5 per month.

"The labourers proceeding to Johannesburg are also badly treated. They are packed like grain or coal bags, in trucks. They are not regarded as human beings as Europeans are. No shelter of any kind on the line to Johannesburg is provided for them. Even if they want to rest they are unable to do so in consequence of being overcrowded in one compartment."

JERRY BANGANI.

"In all we visited twenty-two mines, and on the whole we found the labourers had very few complaints. The chief of these was the smallness of the pay received, viz., £2, 10s. per month."

After referring to the good rations, and the vast improvement in the railway transport, the witness added:

"Personally, I was much satisfied with what I saw and learnt at the Rand, and now am endeavouring to induce labourers to go there, and at our monthly meeting here, at the request of our Magistrate, gave a *résumé* of our journey, which I trust will have a beneficial result, as soon as men can leave after planting their crops, which have been delayed on account of the drought."

The Acting Pass Commissioner and Chief Inspector, in commenting on Mr. Brownlee's investigation, states that he considers the existence of individual cause of complaint to be regrettable but inevitable. As regards corporal chastisement, he admits that "this principle in a modified form is accepted by almost all compound overseers, and, I may say, with almost all persons who come in contact with natives," and though special instructions have been issued to Inspectors, great difficulty has been experienced in securing conformity to the legal procedure.

On the same subject Sir Godfrey Lagden wrote in December last:—

"With regard to the allegation about being beaten no power is vested in any mining authorities to inflict punishment. That is reserved for the officers of the law. But of course it is necessary to maintain discipline on mines where there are thousands of natives working, and for that reason the mining authorities are bound to employ supervisors and overseers. Occasionally it has happened that these men, whether white or black, have exceeded their powers, and whenever such has been discovered it has been properly dealt with."

MORTALITY ON THE MINES.

The very heavy death rate among natives employed on the mines which is revealed by the figures given in the correspondence which has passed between the Colonial Office and Lord Milner, is a fact of the utmost seriousness and significance in its bearing on the subject of native labour. In telegraphing for further statistics on February 22nd last, Mr. Lyttelton recognized this and remarked that on the facts before him he did not see how a death rate of between 50 and 100 per 1,000 could be defended unless necessary improvements recommended by medical officers and in use on some mines had been universally adopted. Lord Milner, telegraphed back (in terms in which he frankly takes his stand as a partisan representative of the mine owners) the important admission that "the high rate of mortality in the mines is the weakest point in our armour." Great improvements have been effected, and yet the figures were (omitting fractions) August 78, September 69, October 69 per 1,000 per annum. Writing on March 21st, Lord Milner sent particulars of the action taken by the various mining companies, and stated that without doubt the all-round consideration received by native labourers now as regards good care and comfort contrasted most favourably with treatment before the war and even a year ago. But the average death rate for 1903 was 71·25 per 1,000 per annum, the worst month being July with 112, and the healthiest February, with 45 deaths. Last February the figures had fallen to 37. The most fatal disease was pneumonia, and the highest mortality was primarily due, in Lord Milner's opinion, to the impoverished condition of the natives on arrival and the sudden change from semi-tropical regions to the colder climate of the Transvaal.

In a telegram dated May 8th last, Lord Milner reports "a very satisfactory

decrease in the death rate, which was 36 per 1,000 in March and 32 in April, as compared with 49 and 52 last year. In reply Mr. Lyttelton telegraphed as follows:—

"May 9th. Your despatches of 21st March and 2nd April furnish satisfactory evidence of improvements which have been made, and of good work of Native Department, and your telegram of 8th May records a favourable diminution of the death rate for March and April, but I regret that mortality returns for August to February as a whole still show the high mortality of 66 per mille. I trust that your anticipations of a very considerable reduction of the death rate in the near future may be realised, in consequence of greater care in recruiting and from giving special attention to natives from warm, low regions. There is another matter, viz., the risk of putting men to full work of an arduous nature at the outset, before they have become acclimatised, and have got into fit condition for such labour by a short period of work of a less exciting nature or amount. This consideration will have to be borne in mind in connection with the introduction of Chinese labourers, whom the sea voyage will have tended to render soft and unfit for hard work immediately on arrival in South Africa. I would also remind you of the statement of the mine doctors, in their report of June last, that the adoption of their recommendations ought to bring about the reduction of the rate of mortality to at least 40 per thousand. Until their expectation is realised it is incumbent upon the Transvaal Government to press for all measures necessary to secure this result, and the Native Department should, I consider, be called upon to furnish, month by month, special reports with regard to all mines on which the mortality exceeds rate of 50 per thousand, stating how far the recommendations of the mining doctors have not been fully complied with, and giving any explanations of the causes to which, in their opinion, the excessive mortality is due. A full report should be supplied to me on the results up to the end of June, and also a report as to the actual precautions which have been adopted with a view to putting an end to the exceptional death rate among Portuguese natives."

In view of these appalling figures, which speak for themselves, and which no amount of mine-owning ingenuity can explain away, we note from the Memorandum of the Native Affairs Department, dated March 31 last, that much attention has been given to the condition of native compounds, and considerable improvements have been effected. We cannot see, however, how to reconcile the following optimistic statement with the terrible mortality which has just been mentioned,—unless it is a case of the survival of the fittest:—

"A striking testimony to the favourable terms and general hygienic conditions under which natives are at present employed on the mines, is to be found in the contrast in health, physical fitness, and general appearance between natives arriving and those returning to their homes."

"Many come to work in a more or less emaciated condition, but few leave who are not in robust health and have not reaped the benefits of regular work, better food and better living conditions than they are accustomed to in their own homes."

From a subsequent Parliamentary Return (published separately, No. 205) we learn that the Transvaal death rate has lately shown a satisfactory decrease. But for one unfortunate accident, involving the death of 43 natives, on the Robinson Deep Mine, the death rate for April would have been only 26 per thousand per annum. As it is, the April rate is the lowest yet recorded on the mines, being over 50 per cent. below general average for the year 1903, and 38 per cent. below the rate for April, 1903. The report adds:—

“The fact should be borne in mind, however, that the months of January, February, March and April are about the healthiest in the year, and that the mortality must be expected to rise considerably. Last year it rose to 112 per thousand in July.”

The coloured death rate at Kimberley and Beaconsfield among 14,579 labourers was 32·03 per thousand for 1903. In Rhodesia the rate is given as 37·24.

Among the British Central African natives the death rate for the first four months of the year showed the very high figure of 87 per thousand, apart from those killed in the Robinson Deep Mine accident.

Pneumonia was accountable for no less than 56 per cent. of the deaths on the Rand Mines in 1903, and for 30 per cent. from the 1st January to 30th April. Improvements in the living and treatment of the natives, and their selection, are expected to lead to better results in the future.

An Appendix to this Return reports the steps which are being taken to carry out the recommendations of the Miners' Phthisis Commission, and to improve the sanitary condition of the mines generally.

The following correspondence has passed between the Society and the Colonial Office:—

TO THE RIGHT HON. ALFRED LYTTETTON,

16th June, 1904.

K.C., M.P., &c.,

H.M. Principal Secretary of State

for the Colonies.

SIR,—I have the honour, by the direction of my Committee, to address you respecting the facts recently published in the Parliamentary Paper Cd. 2025 and in the Return No. 205, bearing on the mortality among the natives employed in the Transvaal Mines.

My Committee has read with the greatest concern the particulars furnished, especially those given in Viscount Milner's despatch of March 21st last and in the enclosures thereto. It has noted the very high average native mortality of 71·25 per thousand per annum for the year 1903, and especially the rate for what are called “the healthiest months,” and observes that in certain individual Mines the death rate per thousand per annum has reached the appalling figure of 120, 130 and even more. My Committee has noted further that the mortality for last year apparently shows a large increase on previous figures, as is gathered from the report of the Medical Officers of

the Mines in June, 1903 (quoted in Annexure J to Despatch No. 13) where the average annual death rate is given as 57·7 per 1,000.

My Committee has observed with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government has laid great stress upon the need of improvement in the condition of the Mines and has strongly urged the importance of the adoption of such measures as may tend to bring about a reduction in the rate of mortality, and further that the figures published for this year show a reduction in the mortality of the first four months.

It is submitted, however, that in view of the facts admitted by Viscount Milner that "mining can never be a healthy employment," and that the results of the efforts of medical experts to improve the conditions of labour and reduce the mortality had up to the end of February last been disappointing, and that improvement must in any case be a matter of time; in view also of the weak physique of many of the natives, their habituation to an open-air life and their well-known disregard of ordinary health precautions, the expectation of a substantial and permanent change for the better cannot reasonably be entertained.

My Committee views with the gravest apprehension the impending increase in the dangers of the situation which will result from the arrival of Chinese labourers, unaccustomed as they will be to the climate of South Africa and to the conditions of labour in the Mines, and it cannot but consider that if the death rate amongst Africans is so high, the prospect of the mortality among Asiatics from oversea is an alarming one.

My Committee is of opinion that the same risks exist, though in a less degree, in respect of the natives of British Central Africa among whom further recruiting for the Mines has recently been sanctioned by His Majesty's Government up to the number of 5,000, and its fears are confirmed by the return just published of this year's high mortality amongst these labourers. It is observed that Sir Godfrey Lagden in his Report for 1903 is by no means hopeful as to the result of this "experiment."

My Committee desires earnestly to urge upon His Majesty's Government that special medical reports should be furnished as to the health of the Chinese immigrants so soon as they arrive at the Rand Mines, in order that a careful watch may be kept upon the progress of the experiment of their employment, and that the number of the immigrants may be limited until it is possible to draw conclusions as to the suitability of the Chinese for the work in the Mines, under the conditions imposed by the Ordinance.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) TRAVERS BUXTON,

Secretary.

DOWNING STREET, 1st July, 1904.

SIR,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th ultimo, and to express his thanks to you for it.

2. Mr. Lyttelton is fully alive to the importance of the subject and to the considerations put forward in your letter.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) FRED. GRAHAM.

The Secretary, British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

The Convention between this country and China regarding the employment of Chinese labour in British Colonies and Protectorate was signed in London, on May 13th last. Its text has been published both as a separate white paper (Cd. 1956), and bound up with other important matter (which includes the text of the Ordinance for the introduction of the labourers and the Regulations thereto in their final form, and despatches which have passed on the subject between the Colonial Office and Lord Milner), in the Blue Book Cd. 2026.

The Convention provides for the emigration of Chinese subjects under indenture to a British Colony or Protectorate, but does not specify the Transvaal by name.

By Article VI., the Emperor of China is empowered to appoint a Consul or Vice-Consul to watch over the interests and well-being of the labourers, but it would appear that the point urged by the Chinese Minister that the Consul should "have power to visit the mines and make representations to the authorities respecting the well-being of the immigrants," has not been conceded. In reply to a question put by Mr. J. A. Pease, in Parliament, on this special point, the Colonial Secretary stated only that the Chinese Consul in the Transvaal would have all the privileges and facilities accorded to other Consuls, and that he understood that the Chinese representatives were satisfied with the arrangement.

By Article IX. officers are to be appointed to ensure the immigrant having free access to Courts of Justice for redress of any injuries, and Article XII. provides that the employer shall have no right to transfer the labourer without his free consent and the approval of his Consul. The Chinese Government is to receive a fee on every indentured immigrant shipped of three Mexican dollars a head for any number up to 10,000 and two dollars a head for a greater number. Provision is made in the Schedule for proper accommodation for the immigrants on the voyage, the carriage of qualified surgeons on board, and for suitable food and water.

The first batch of Chinese coolies, numbering 1,049, reached Natal in the steamer "Tweeddale" about the middle of June; the steamer and the landing place are stated to have been guarded by armed police, and the coolies, before being conveyed to the Rand in locked railway carriages, were photographed, and impressions taken of their finger-prints. No women or children accompanied the labourers.

A new danger has arisen from the outbreak of the disease known as "beriberi" among the coolies; there were 40 cases on board the "Tweeddale" and eight deaths had occurred when Lord Milner telegraphed at the end of June, the remaining cases being at once sent back to China. The same message stated that 25 cases had occurred on the Rand, and one death; the general health however, of the immigrants is said to be good.

The Transvaal authorities appear to be reticent in the matter, as questions in both Houses of Parliament and Mr. Lyttelton's thrice-repeated telegram failed to elicit much information, Lord Milner and his advisers not, it is stated, regarding this disease as involving any very special difficulty. Most people, however, will be disposed to think that the outbreak of this nervous disease, of which but little seems to be known here, adds a new horror to a business already odious enough.

Meanwhile two other steamers, the "Ikbal" and "Swanley," are reported to have left China with batches of 1,970 and 1,988 coolies respectively, but the sailing of the "Courtfield" with the next batch of coolies is said to have been "deferred indefinitely."

It is a fact worth noting that, whereas a few months ago a most depressing account came from Lord Milner of the financial position of the Transvaal, and the colony, when Chinese labour was so urgently demanded, was said to be on the verge of bankruptcy, the High Commissioner now speaks of the financial troubles "over which so many crocodile tears have been shed" as not having been out of the common, and describes himself as "an incorrigible optimist" on this subject.

A very striking legal opinion as to the position of the coolies contracting under the Chinese Labour Ordinance has been elicited by Major Seely, who wrote to *The Times* of June 22nd that a case for counsel's opinion had been submitted to one who is described as "the highest legal authority on such matters at the English Bar," as to the validity of the contract according to English law if made in England, and the remedy against the enforcement of such a contract.

We quote the important opinion given in reply in full :—

"I. and II.—I am of opinion that such a contract, if made in England, would not be valid according to English law; because it is in undue restraint of trade and of the liberty of the subject, and is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the common law. For instance, the law will not allow a person to renounce the capacity of acquiring and enjoying property, nor will it allow any enforcement of agreements by any other compulsion than that of our Courts of

Justice. (See Hargrave's argument in *Somerset's* case, pages 86, 97; Broom's Constitutional Law, 2nd Edition.)

"III.—I cannot conceive any system of jurisprudence in a civilised nation under which a contract of the kind in question would be enforceable in the absence of legislation expressly sanctioning it and containing provisions similar to the contract.

"IV.—The remedy in the case supposed would be by *habeas corpus* or by action for trespass to the person."

Amongst the references here given Major Seely cites the following as worthy of special notice:—

(Broom's Constitutional Law, page 86):—

"The law of England will not allow the servant to invest the master with an arbitrary power of correcting, imprisoning, or alienating him; it will not permit him to renounce the capacity of acquiring and enjoying property or to transmit a contract of service to his issue. In other words, it will not permit the servant to incorporate into his contract the ingredients of slavery."

Page 97.—"I am satisfied that no contract, however solemnly entered into, would have justified such violence (the forcible deportation of the negro out of this country). It is contrary to the genius of the English law to allow any enforcement of agreements or contracts by any other compulsion than that from our Courts of Justice."

We think that this high legal opinion more than justifies the attitude of strong opposition which has been offered to the importation of Chinese labourers, under the conditions imposed, on the ground that it partakes of the nature of slavery.

The correspondence between the Colonial Office and Lord Milner which has been published in Cd. 2026 is exceedingly instructive. It shows us Mr. Lyttelton, on the one side, bargaining for various points in the interest of the health and well-being of the imported labourers—such as the provision to be made for their good treatment on the voyage, the size of the ships, the fees of the surgeons who are to accompany the coolies, the rate of wages, &c.—while, on the other side, we see the Governor of the Transvaal quite frankly negotiating in the interest of the importing mine-owners and securing the best terms possible for them. The most important point debated appears to be that of the rate of wages, on which, unfortunately, the Colonial Secretary, though making a brave attempt to secure a reasonable rate, and especially to ensure that the wages of the Chinese shall not be lower than those now paid to Kaffirs, has had in the end to submit to an unsatisfactory compromise. On March 29th Lord Milner telegraphed:—

"Only minimum wage will be specified in contract. It is proposed to make this 15 dollars for 30 working-days, but labourers will be able to earn up to a dollar a day by piecework, which mines are most anxious to encourage. . . . It is impossible to say exactly how their wages on this system will compare with wages of Kaffirs, with whom piecework is not a success. Kaffir wages to-day

vary very much according to nature of work, but average is about £2. 10s. According to best calculations I can make, coolies, as soon as they get used to the work, will earn quite as much.

In reply, Mr. Lyttelton referred to a speech of his in which he had said that the Chinese would receive at least 2s. a day, and added :—

"I really cannot defend an arrangement by which Chinese would be used to lower Kaffir wages current now and before the war; having regard to the fact that the minimum rate of 15 dollars now proposed is actually less than that to which mines endeavoured to lower Kaffir wages after the war, the proposed minimum would arouse much opposition among reasonable critics."

In answer to this Lord Milner stated that the scale of wages would enable average workers without excessive pressure to earn 50 per cent. more than day's pay :—

"Mines asseverate, and I absolutely believe them, that object of minimum is not to cheapen labour but to (?) against skulkers. Having regard to great cost of bringing Chinamen here it really seems to me that they must so protect themselves to some extent."

But Mr. Lyttelton was still uneasy, and after making some suggestions as to piecework, he declared himself convinced that unless such alterations of the contract were made, there would be risk of discontent among the Chinese, and it was not, he said, in the interest of the mines to incur any such risk. Lord Milner then telegraphed :—

"If it is absolutely necessary in order to obtain immediate final settlement mineowners consent to fixed minimum at 1s. 6d. for working day of 10 hours."

To this the Colonial Secretary agreed, but the next day Lord Milner withdrew his consent on the ground of the danger of fixing a minimum of 1s. 6d. for the Chinese, it being quite unnecessary, and likely to have very serious consequences for all the industries of the country. He went on to suggest the following compromise :—

"The mines are willing to raise the minimum day's pay from 1s. to 1s. 6d., if within six months the average coolie pay does not equal £2. 10s. for 30 days. This is more than Kaffir average before war. . . . I think above a very fair offer."

On April 29th, Mr. Lyttelton telegraphed his acceptance of this compromise, provided that piecework should be stated to be at the labourer's option, and that the average should be fairly arrived at. But Lord Milner objected to this provision, and the Colonial Secretary finally yielded on May 5th in the following terms :—

"I recognise impossibility of guaranteeing piecework to all classes of labour, and I therefore waive that condition on the understanding that the compromise set forth in your telegram of 27th April is embodied in contract and that that document shall also stipulate that classes of labour to which piecework is not applicable shall not be paid at lower rates than existing scale of wages corresponding to schedule above."

We have quoted these extracts from the correspondence in this Blue Book, because they plainly show the immense power of the Rand mine-owners (whose cause Lord Milner makes his own) and the inability of the Government to stand against them. It is well to remember that on March 21st, the Colonial Secretary gave his deliberate assurance in the House of Commons that while it was unnecessary to specify a minimum wage on the face of the Ordinance, the Chinese labourer would receive a wage of *at least 2s. a day*—of this, he said, there was “not the slightest question,” while now, on the ground of previous incorrect information, Mr. Lyttelton has asked the House to absolve him from fulfilling the letter of his undertaking, and admits that the minimum day’s pay is 1s.

The success of the mine-owning interest, therefore, in carrying their point is one of great and serious significance, nor does it stand alone in this correspondence. Take the point of the size of ships for carrying the coolies. On April 8th, Mr. Lyttelton telegraphed his “serious objections to shipping as many as 2,000 immigrants on one ship for a voyage from China to South Africa.” He pointed out 1,000 as a proper maximum for one ship, for whom a surgeon superintendent, a qualified assistant, and two dispensers would be required. To this Lord Milner replied that the Chamber of Mines, with whom he had had much discussion on the subject, pointed out that the large ships (which they had already chartered at great cost) were healthier and more suitable. He was satisfied that their objections were reasonable. The Chamber were as anxious as possible to make the immigration a success.

In this case too, Mr. Lyttelton could only withdraw his objections and agree to what Lord Milner proposed.

The Ordinance and Regulations, as now published, do not differ in any material points from the drafts which have already appeared in previous Blue Books. The list of offences against the Ordinance for which a penalty is exacted number fourteen, and Schedule 1 specifies no less than 55 occupations and trades which are forbidden to the immigrants. One of these is that of an overseer, but an exception is made in favour of “the management and control of labourers.” In other words the Chinese are to have their own (not white) overseers or foremen. This seems to render more remote the prospect of openings for skilled white labourers, which was to be the result of introducing Chinese labour. The point has been pressed in the House of Commons, but the Colonial Secretary, while asserting generally that skilled white labourers will not be displaced by Chinese, professes his ignorance of the exact labour conditions which prevail.

The “premises” to which labourers are to be confined are, according to Lord Milner’s explanation, to be of very considerable extent, and are to afford ample scope for recreation grounds, shops and places of worship.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA NATIVES.

On the experiment of introducing labourers from the British Central Africa Protectorate for the mines, Sir Godfrey Lagden writes as follows in his report

of February 7th last.* It will be noted that he does not express himself with any enthusiasm on the scheme, nor does he seem expectant of very good results :—

"Upon the occasion of the visit of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Johannesburg in January last, the Chairman of the Chamber of Mines addressed a representation to him seeking facilities for agents of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association to visit Tembue, Kavirondo, and the Uganda Protectorate, with the object of enquiring into the prospects of procuring native labour for the Mines in those districts.

"Mr. Chamberlain undertook to recommend that the desired facilities should be granted and also that the recruitment of natives be allowed in the British Central African Protectorate subject to such conditions and regulations as might be decided upon.

"The negotiations which ensued led to an agreement between the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association and His Majesty's Commissioner for the British Central African Protectorate under which the Association was permitted to engage 1,000 natives as an experiment for service on the mines, upon a 12 months' contract under certain stipulated conditions as to pay, repatriation, &c.

"The first batch of 380 natives recruited in accordance with these arrangements arrived in Johannesburg on the 17th June.

"Towards the end of that month an unfortunate strike occurred amongst 84 of them, which resulted in their punishment by a few days' imprisonment. They were held by the Magistrate to have violated their agreement, which had been fully attested and explained to them by their own Magistrate at the time of recruiting.

"A second gang of 343 arrived on the 28th August, and a third numbering 86 on the 18th September.

"A total number of 739 have, therefore, actually been received from British Central Africa out of the 1,000 arranged for.

"Every possible precaution was taken by this Department to give the experiment a fair test. The men have worked on selected mines under the most favourable conditions. They were medically examined by a Government doctor, provisions were made for suitable food, clothing and medical treatment, and the Mining Authorities lent themselves cordially to all suggestions calculated to secure the success of the experiment.

"It is premature to express an opinion as to whether the experiment will be found on the whole to be a success. It would appear from the reports which have reached me up to the present time that the results are not encouraging."

On this subject, the Rev. Dr. Hetherwick, of the Blantyre Mission, writes in the *Scotsman* that the facts as to the death rate, coupled with the precautions which are to be taken—

"only bear out the contention of all acquainted with the physique of the Central African natives, that they are wholly unfitted for the work and strain of the gold mines. And even with the strictest of regulations, where both the Government and the mine-owners, as well as the recruiting agents, are anxious for the labour, where have we any guarantee that these extreme precautions will be observed? Natives of other parts of Africa are suffering equally with those of our

* Given in Cd. 2025.

own Protectorate. So heavy is the loss among the labourers from Portuguese East Africa that the attention of the Labour Association has been drawn to it, and an enquiry into its cause has been set on foot."

In a recent number of the Journal of the same Mission we read :—

"With these facts before them it is a matter of surprise to us that the Government should have so readily consented to the recruiting of this second contingent. The only conclusion that can be drawn from their action is that the mining interests are determined to have labour for their work at all risks and that our Government is as clay in their hands. The parlous state of the Rand and its trade and finances we admit, but why should it be relieved of its necessities at the sacrifice of the welfare of other countries and communities?

"There will always be found a number of natives who will run any risks if sufficiently high pay is offered them. They have little or no realization of future danger, and the knowledge of the risks they incur to life and health will only make each man hope that the next victim may not be himself. These are the people who need to be saved from themselves, and it is the bounden duty of the Government which assumed the Protection of the natives of the Protectorate to see that they are protected from the consequences of their own lack of foresight or sense of danger."

The article goes on to refer to the "new element" of complication which will be added by the presence of the Chinese labourers on the Rand, and contends that the moral results of their introduction into the midst of a miscellaneous native population will be of the worst kind.

PROSPERITY OF THE MINES.

We alluded in our last issue to the growing prosperity of the Transvaal gold mines, both as regards the output of gold and the number of natives employed.

We append a few of the figures which have recently been officially given.

The total output in 1902 was 1,707,661 oz. (£7,253,665 in value).

In 1903 it rose to 2,963,759 oz. (£12,589,249 in value).

For the present year the figures are as follow :—

1904.		oz.	£
January	... Output	289,899	1,231,418
February	... ..	289,502	1,229,726
March	... ..	308,242	1,309,329
April	... ..	305,946	1,299,576
May	... ..	314,480	1,335,826

The output in March last was thus actually higher than in March, 1898 (before the war), when the value was £1,217,424. The figures show that the rise was continuous throughout 1902 and 1903 (the value of output in January, 1902, having reached only £298,786) with the exception of a fall in February, 1903.

As regards the number of natives employed in the mines the figures for this year show :—

January	...	...	...	...	...	69,004
February	...	...	...	...	...	72,156
March	...	...	...	...	...	72,340
April	...	...	...	...	...	72,577
May	...	...	...	...	...	70,778

The average for the first half of 1902 was only 24,527 labourers, while in June, 1903, the numbers had risen to 59,491.

These statistics show a steady increase, and prove the unfounded character of the cry that the Transvaal mines are languishing for lack of labour, and the arguments which are based upon it.

Lord Milner admitted in June, 1903, that the production of gold even then was greater than in 1895 or 1896, "when the Transvaal already was, and had been for some time, the marvel of the world in the matter of gold production. Not only that, but the rate of production is steadily increasing."

The force of Lord Milner's argument, as Major Seely has pointed out, to the effect that the urgency of the matter had been considerably exaggerated, is certainly not weakened by the fact that since he spoke the output of gold has increased by 30 per cent.

The Administration of the Congo State.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER AND DEBATE.

A FURTHER stage in the development of this question has been reached by the publication of a fresh batch of correspondence which has passed between our Government and that of the Congo State, and by the outspoken statements of Earl Percy (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs) on the subject in the instructive debate which took place in the House of Commons on June 9th.

The White Paper to which we refer* is full of important matter and contains the "preliminary" but lengthy defence of the State in the form of "Notes" on Mr. Consul Casement's Report, to which Lord Lansdowne replied. The British Minister at Brussels then forwarded a further memorandum from the Congo Government dated May 14th, to which Lord Lansdowne replied at some length in his Memorandum of June 6th.

The White Paper also contains a copy of the judgment of the Court of Appeal at Boma in what is known as the Caudron case, which is of considerable significance and interest.

To refer first to the elaborate "Notes" of March 12th in which the Congo Government endeavours to reply to the charges contained in the Casement report, we note that the Congo State makes no offer to refer the state of things complained of to an impartial tribunal, simply asserting that the taxes imposed on the natives are legitimate, that abuses, if such have occurred, call for reform

*Africa No. 7 (1904), Cd. 2097.

from the authorities, but that "the Congo State intends to exercise freely its rights of sovereignty without regard to external pressure or foreign interference, which would be an encroachment upon its essential rights."

The decrease of population in certain districts is, it is said, sufficiently explained by the sleeping sickness and other epidemics, and by the abolition of slavery, which discourages settlements in what were previously flourishing centres of the slave trade.

As regards the charges of cruelty it is averred that Mr. Casement was unduly credulous, and mutilations might well be the result of barbarous native customs. In one case, that of the lad Epondo, mentioned by the Consul, the boy is said to have afterwards confessed that he had lied to Mr. Casement, his hand having really been torn off by a wild boar.

In defending the methods of taxation in the State, these Notes employ the familiar *tu quoque* argument and compare the taxes imposed under British rule in Sierra Leone and Rhodesia. Strangely enough a passage from the report of this Society for 1903 in reference to the complaints of the natives of the Fiji Islands is made use of, and the words of the late Colonial Secretary in Parliament are applied to the Congo Government.

With respect to the cruelties alleged by Mr. Casement to be connected with the collection of taxes, and the accusation, admitted to have been often brought against the State, of "odious acts of mutilation," these Notes assert that Mr. Casement appeared as an open partisan of the anti-Congo campaign and the Protestant missionaries, and that he was accordingly provided with just the kind of evidence that he required for his purpose.

The case of Epondo, the lad who appeared with his hand cut off, the wound being scarcely healed, is examined at extraordinary length, and several pages are devoted to a full report of the "judicial enquiry" carried out by M. Bosco, the Acting Public Prosecutor, "free from all outside influences." It appears that the natives who had been present at Epondo's interview with the British Consul all fled on hearing of the arrival of the representative of Congo justice, but that other natives came forward and swore that Epondo's hand had been lost in an encounter with a wild boar. The boy himself, on being brought before the Congo official, appears to have at least twice persisted in the statement made to Mr. Casement that his hand had been cut off by a native sentry called Kelengo, but on his third appearance he stated that he had lied and that the wild boar story was true. He could not, however, remember when that accident had happened. Three of the native witnesses were admittedly employes of the La Lulunga Company, but the Acting Public Prosecutor at once declared that the later version was the most plausible, and that the innocence of Kelengo had been "thoroughly established."

The result is thus confidently and triumphantly described in the Notes:—

"The evidence is typical, uniform, and without discrepancies. It leaves no doubt as to the cause of the accident, makes it clear that the natives lied to the Consul, and reveals the object which actuated them, namely, the hope that the

Consul's intervention would relieve them from the necessity of paying taxes. The enquiry shows how Epondo, at last brought to account, retracted what he had in the first instance said to the Consul, and confessed that he had been influenced by the people of his village."

The authorities have promised that they will cause enquiries to be made into the cases mentioned by Mr. Casement, and asked for full particulars of names, places and dates occurring in his report; but if such enquiry is to be conducted on the same lines as that of M. Bosco, the Acting Public Prosecutor, which is here described, it does not seem probable that much good will result.

At the same time that they made this offer the Congo Government took the opportunity of protesting against the publication of photographs of mutilated natives and "the odious story of hands being cut off with the knowledge and even at the instigation of Belgians in Africa."

In reply to the request for particulars, Lord Lansdowne declined to furnish the names and dates asked for, unless the Congo Government would state the measures which would be adopted for the protection of the witnesses from acts of retaliation on the part of persons considering themselves injured. The knowledge of these particulars would enable the accused officials to exercise pressure upon the witnesses and to defeat the objects of an effective enquiry.

In a later despatch dated 6th June, Lord Lansdowne put this point even more strongly:—

"No argument can be entertained to the effect that acts of violence are improbable or impossible under a system such as that revealed by the Judgment pronounced by the Court of Appeal at Boma in the Caudron case, and His Majesty's Government earnestly trust that the Congo Government will recognize the immense service that will be rendered both to the cause of humanity and to the credit of their own officers by promoting unreservedly a full and public investigation by a tribunal of recognized competence and impartiality into the charges made against their agents and against their system of administration."

Lord Lansdowne went on to refer to the promised enquiry which, no doubt, was to be of a searching and impartial character, and of which His Majesty's Government would like to hear more. But:—

"Strict impartiality will hardly be attributed to an investigation conducted, as in the Epondo case, solely by the officers of the State or by the Agents of the Concessionaire Companies, nor will the result carry conviction to the degree which seems essential. . . . It is only because, in the judgment of His Majesty's Government, the whole question at issue turns in a great measure upon the position and character of those charged with the enquiry that they feel justified in . . . suggesting that a Special Commission should be appointed, composed of members of well-established reputation and in part, at least, of persons unconnected with the Congo State, to whom the fullest powers should be entrusted both as regards the collection of evidence and the measures for the protection of witnesses. Were a Commission of this character appointed, His Majesty's Government would be prepared to place at the disposal of the members,

for their own use and guidance, all the information they possess respecting the position of affairs in the Congo, and would give them every assistance, in the confident belief that an independent Commission such as they have suggested would elicit the truth, and effect in a manner commanding general acceptance a settlement of the existing controversy."

In the Memorandum forwarded with this despatch to Brussels as well as to the Powers who were parties to the Berlin Act, a reply is offered to the "Notes" of the Congo Government, and many points raised in them are dealt with.

The assertion that Mr. Casement's attitude was one of antagonism to the Government is combated, and His Majesty's Government decline to accept the view that the Consul necessarily fell under the influence of the missionaries, or that English Protestant missionaries are opposed to the Government of a friendly State in which they reside.

As to the Epondo case, it is denied that Mr. Casement generalised from this one incident, as the Congo State have asserted.

"A noteworthy illustration of the method adopted to arrive at an impartial finding in this case will be found to consist in the fact that an enquiry with grave charges preferred against an agent of the Lulanga Company was conducted in part through agents of that Society—itsself primarily involved; that the Substitut du Procureur d'Etat visited the district as the guest of that Company, putting up at its stations and travelling on its steamer in company with its agents, and that the 'retraction' of Epondo only took place when the boy had been removed to the head-quarters of that Company, on the steamer of that Company, surrounded, not by friends, but by the agents of the very Company which had an obvious interest in securing a withdrawal of the charge."

The statement of Epondo that he could not remember when he lost his hand, and that it was long ago, is mentioned as throwing doubt on the rest of his "retraction," for when Mr. Casement saw the wound on September 7th last it was not then completely healed. After referring to other weak points in this enquiry, the memorandum remarks that the evidence clearly showed that the relations of the Lulanga Company to the natives were those of "an organization compelling, with the approval and support of the Executive, a widespread system for which no legal authority exists," and that its trading operations depended for their profits upon the "obligation de l'impôt."

The Memorandum then draws attention to the startling discrepancy between the exports of native produce from the State, which have enormously increased (having trebled in the six years from 1897-1902), and the imports—a small part of which are trade goods for the purchase of produce or the remuneration of producers—which have decreased by 4,000,000 francs during the last year.

"These figures, as they stand, are remarkable. Their significance, is increased when it is borne in mind that the population of the regions exporting this great increase of native produce has enormously decreased during the same period. That decrease is admitted by the authorities. We thus find that a

diminishing population, a diminishing market-value of the article produced, and a diminishing means of purchase, have been accompanied during a period of only six years by a more than trebled production."

The Caudron trial, a copy of the judgment in which was forwarded to the Foreign Office by Acting Consul Nightingale, is important for the evidence which it supplies as to the methods employed by Concession Companies in the State, and as showing the direct complicity of the Administration in acts similar to those described in Mr. Casement's recent report to the Foreign Office.

Caudron was a Belgian official in the service of the *Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo*, who had been condemned by the Court of first instance to 20 years' penal servitude for gross cruelty to the natives. This man, together with Silvanus Jones, a Lagos negro and British subject, who had been condemned on a similar charge, appealed against the sentence to the higher Court at Boma. The accused were found guilty on six out of eight counts of the indictment (which included attacking villages with armed soldiers, whereby many natives were killed, shooting at a native woman, arbitrarily detaining 20 prisoners, ordering the murder of a chief in prison, &c.), and their appeal was rejected, but the sentence on Caudron was reduced from 20 to 15 years' imprisonment on account of "extenuating circumstances." These were admitted owing to the presumption of "a certain toleration on the part of the authorities" and instructions of the Governor-General granting to the Company the right to exact rubber as a tax, which right, however, could only, the Court declared, be granted by the Sovereign or a legal authority delegated by him. Extenuating circumstances were also allowed by reason, according to the terms of the judgment, of "the great difficulties under which the accused must have laboured in the accomplishment of his mission in the midst of a population entirely hostile to all idea of work, and which only respects the law of force, knowing no other persuasion than terror."

The judgment recognised that the accused in their acts of hostility against the natives, were actuated by the interest of the Company's trade, and notably the increase of the rubber output.

It is highly significant that when one of the accused pleaded that the political reports of the superior authorities would show that they had known and approved of his actions, and the magistrate made enquiries of the local Government, it declared "that, as a matter of principle, it did not think it possible to disclose these documents," and the Court of Appeal did not feel justified in calling for their production, it being "the duty of the judicial authority to proceed in such matters with the greatest circumspection." It should be noted also that the findings of the Court of Appeal established that the Concession Company's agent conducted military operations in co-operation with a Government official and Government troops against various native villages, in which a large number of natives were killed. These natives, it is admitted, had committed no hostile act, but their fault was that they had not furnished the Company with a sufficient

supply of labour. Half of the shares of this Company, it must be remembered, are held by the Government, which receives a royalty on the rubber collected by it.

All this is valuable evidence in support of the contention that the system of Congo Government is a thoroughly evil and rotten one.

The Rev. J. H. Weeks has been supplying further facts to the *West African Mail* as to the crushing taxation imposed on the natives of his district of the Upper Congo. He estimates the yearly income of a native unskilled workman at £3. 2s. 3d., out of which he has to pay no less than £1. 19s. 2d. in taxes, which are collected fortnightly without the slightest regard for the circumstances of the unfortunate people.

"It is," he writes, "a constant grind, grind, grind that is sapping the spirit and strength of these people and causing them to succumb. Death has less horror than this constant grind, this perpetual trying to fill a bottomless sack, this everlasting paying of heavy taxes, meeting exorbitant fines, being shot down untried, or forced to work in chains on a State station for some petty, capricious reason."

The debate in the House of Commons which took place on the Foreign Office Vote, on June 9th, was notable for the unanimity with which speakers from both sides of the House condemned the misgovernment and outrages which had resulted from the Congo State system, and especially for the strong statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government, by Earl Percy. Lord Percy pointed out that in order to substantiate the allegations which had been made by the Government, it was not necessary to refer to the Report of Mr. Casement or to subsequent evidence; the House had only to look at the findings of the Congo Court themselves. The Congo reply had been absolutely beside the mark.

"They made every allowance for the Congo Government, but he did not think they could possibly acquit them of their grave responsibility for the indefinite continuance of a system under which the mere exploitation of commercial resources and the accumulation of rubber was made by their agents the excuse for insensate and inhuman barbarity."

As to the future policy of our Government, Lord Percy's speech was less satisfactory. He saw difficulties in the way of the project for establishing a British Consular Court in the Congo. As far as the Government could see, most of the Powers whom they had addressed were not ready to act with them, although the United States and Turkey (the name of the latter was received with laughter) were giving the matter their earnest consideration. The Congo Government in their last reply showed willingness to promote an enquiry, and this was a satisfactory indication that our representations had not been without effect. They were not willing, however, to meet our proposal that the question of British trade rights should be referred to The Hague Tribunal.

A timely conference on the Congo question, in which several societies (including the Anti-Slavery Society) and a number of members of Parliament

took part, was convened by the Aborigines Protection Society, on June 7th, under the presidency of the Bishop of Hereford. Among the speakers were Sir Charles Dilke, Dr. H. Guinness and Mr. H. Samuel, M.P., and resolutions were carried urging the reference of certain questions to The Hague Tribunal, and approving the suggestion for the appointment of a British Consul at Boma. An important letter was read from Sir Harry Johnston (whose name has been so often quoted as a defender of the Congo State), recommending the institution of British Consular jurisdiction, and urging the calling of an International Conference, at which representatives of all the States which took part in the Berlin Conference should attend, to consider the evidence of Consul Casement and others. Sir H. Johnston went on to suggest:—

“that, if this evidence is conclusive in convincing the majority of plenipotentiaries of the truth of these serious charges of misgovernment brought against the Congo Free State, the international creation should be dissolved and the territories within the natural basin of the Congo (not already belonging to France, Britain, Germany, or Portugal) should be entrusted, under proper guarantees, to the Government of Belgium. If the majority of the plenipotentiaries are not convinced by existing evidence regarding misgovernment, then the Conference should appoint an International Commission to visit the Congo at once and prepare an exhaustive report upon the condition of the Congo Free State. If the present State be dissolved, and Belgium be given a mandate from the international conference to take over the government of these lands within the Congo basin, it should be, perhaps, a mandate limited to ten years; at the end of which period, should the nations be convinced by the reports of their agents that the guarantees of Belgium for good government and fair conditions of commerce have not been fulfilled, they would be free to decide by a majority of votes some other scheme for the development and control of the Congo regions.”

The same high authority has recently written a letter to *The Times* (June 2nd), in which he speaks of the importance which he attaches to the report of Mr. Consul Casement as “an experienced and absolutely impartial investigator, whose one object has been to ascertain the truth, and who has had a sufficiently wide experience of Africa to be not easily deceived.”

“I have never wished,” Sir H. Johnston said, “to be cited as the champion of the Congo Free State, nor do I desire to come forward as its attacker. . . . In any case action should be taken speedily, since, if misgovernment is going on, it should be stopped at once.”

A Public Debate was held on the 8th June in St. James' Hall, when Mr. G. H. Head, an English lawyer, defended the cause of the Congo Government and was answered by Dr. Harry Guinness. Mr. Head made the best of a very bad case, and spoke with considerable ability, but his opponent had no difficulty in meeting the points raised and brought an overwhelming amount of evidence as to the cruelty and extortion involved in the system of the Congo Government.

Mr. E. D. Morel, who has done so much to throw light upon this question and arouse public opinion upon it, has, in a recent pamphlet pointed out that

if no other Power will join Great Britain in taking action against the outrages of Congo Rule, our Government can do much by providing, according to the 1884 Convention, for the creation of exclusive British jurisdiction over all British subjects in the Congo. Parliament, he thinks, would certainly agree and the result would be that the better system of justice would very soon bring about a reform in the system of the Congo Executive, and would make "the continuation of the present system of organised murder and robbery impossible of much longer duration."

Mr. Morel asserts that influential societies and individuals in America are urging a policy of action in regard to the Congo question upon the Government of the United States.

Parliamentary.

House of Commons, June 1st.

MISUSE OF THE FRENCH FLAG.

SIR CHARLES DILKE, speaking on the Anglo-French Agreement, said, . . . The other matter which had not been dealt with in the Agreement was what was called the misuse of the French flag to cover trade in arms and slaves. It was known that the French Government gave their flag and the protection of semi-citizenship very freely. In the case of Siam great trouble had arisen from that circumstance, and also all along the coast from Zanzibar to the Persian Gulf. This was a matter which had sometimes brought the Powers within an ace of war, and there had been continuous friction. Surely when they remembered the declarations by members of the present Government through a succession of years, the language used by Sir Arthur Hardinge, by the late Lord Salisbury, and by Lord Curzon, they would agree that the Government should not have lost this opportunity of attempting to settle this question. The latest reference to the subject was on the occasion of Lord Curzon's visit to the Persian Gulf. There was with Lord Curzon a very well-known gentleman, of almost international weight, as correspondent of *The Times*. In the letters which he wrote to *The Times*, that correspondent, who was, he thought, authorized by the Viceroy himself, used these words:—"Lord Lansdowne had again brought the matter before France"—so that the matter was under discussion between the Governments last year—"he says that the question of principle is to be referred to The Hague Tribunal." He hoped the Government would tell the House if that were so. If it were true, he was certain it would be a most gratifying announcement, as this question in the past had caused much friction between our Government and France. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BALFOUR. The right hon. baronet raised a more important point when he referred to French rights in Muscat. He quoted a statement that an agreement had been made with the French Government last year.

SIR C. DILKE said he referred to a much older agreement.

Mr. BALFOUR: I am referring to what happened last year and what he rightly supposed had happened between the two Governments. It is quite true that last year a very difficult question arose between the French Government and ourselves which was not mentioned in the Press or made matter of public discussion, though it presented many aspects of great difficulty at the moment. I am glad to say that question has by common consent been referred to The Hague Tribunal for decision. (Hear, hear.)

[The Anti-Slavery Society has for a great many years known of this abuse of the French flag, and has constantly drawn attention to it, but without result. We are very glad that Sir Charles Dilke, whom we were able to furnish with some evidence on the subject, has mentioned it in Parliament, and it is satisfactory to learn from the Prime Minister's statement that the question has, by mutual consent, been referred to the Hague Tribunal for decision.—ED. A-S. Reporter.]

House of Commons, June 9th.

CHINESE LABOUR IN THE TRANSVAAL MINES—POWERS OF CHINESE CONSUL.

Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the proposal of the Chinese Minister mentioned in [Cd. 2026 2], that a Chinese Consul should have power to visit the Transvaal mines and make representations to the authorities respecting the well-being of the immigrants was acceded to by His Majesty's Government; and if this right is included among those granted to the officer whose appointment is provided for by Article VI. of the Convention signed on 13th May; or, if not, whether this proposal was waived by the Chinese Minister.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES: Article VI. of the Convention represents the arrangement finally arrived at in this matter. The Chinese Consul or Vice-Consul in the Transvaal will have all the privileges and facilities in the discharge of his duty of protecting the interests of his countrymen which are accorded to other Consuls, and the note to the Convention shows that every care has been taken to secure the appointment of Consuls of experience and standing.

Mr. J. A. PEASE: Are the Chinese representatives satisfied with that position?

Mr. LYTTELTON: I understand so.

Slavery in Tripoli.

In April last the Anti-Slavery Society of Italy called the attention of our Society to the case of a slave woman at Zliten in Tripoli, who had been cruelly ill-treated by her master, on account of the flight of her two fellow slaves who had escaped to Khoms and had obtained their freedom from the local authorities. The agents of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society had reported this

case of brutality to the Italian Consul-General, and, in consequence the Basha of Tripoli had appointed a commission to inquire into the matter, but nothing had been done, and the woman was kept chained, in hiding, by her master, who was said to be on terms of personal friendship with some of the chief officials of the place.

The Italian Society brought these facts before the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and urged our Society to approach the British Foreign Office in order that the representatives of the different Powers might act together for the release of the slave woman in conformity with the Brussels Act.

The following correspondence accordingly passed between the Anti-Slavery Society and the Foreign Office.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO FOREIGN OFFICE.

25th April, 1904.

MY LORD MARQUESS,—I have the honour to ask your Lordship's attention to the enclosed extract from a report which has been forwarded to this Society by the Anti-Slavery Society of Italy, regarding a case of slavery in Tripoli.

Our Society received from time to time reports from the Anti-Slavery Society of Italy regarding the traffic in negro slaves in the Tripoli territory, and especially their export from the ports of Tripoli, such slaves being passed off by the dealers as free travellers, in order to evade the law, and shipped to Turkish ports.

This Society has more than once made representations on this subject to His Majesty's Government, the last occasion being in February, 1899, when I had the honour to address a letter on behalf of my Committee to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The reports of Italian anti-slavery agents on the spot, however, show that this abuse of the general Act of the Brussels Conference still continues.

The Anti-Slavery Society of Italy has submitted the report, from which the enclosed is an extract, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome and they earnestly ask this Society to bring the matter to the notice of His Majesty's Government, and to ask for the co-operation of the British representative with the representatives of other European Powers in Tripoli, in order that justice may be obtained from the Ottoman authorities in regard to this case.

On behalf of my Committee,

I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) TRAVERS BUXTON,
Secretary.

FOREIGN OFFICE TO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Foreign Office,

May 2nd, 1904.

SIR,—I am directed by the Marquess of Lansdowne, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, relative to a case of slavery in Tripoli.

I am to inform you in reply that His Majesty's Consul-General at Tripoli has been instructed to obtain a report on the subject from the British Vice-Consul at Khems, who it would appear intervened in the matter,

I am, &c.,

(Signed) F. H. VILLIERS.

Foreign Office,

June 3rd, 1904.

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 2nd ultimo, relative to an alleged case of slavery in Tripoli, I am directed by the Marquess of Lansdowne to state that he has been informed by the Acting British Consul-General at Tripoli that in March last the British Vice-Consul at Khoms sent a report on the case to Mr. Consul-General Jago, and that the facts as therein set forth are the same as those in the extract from the letter from the Anti-Slavery Society of Italy, enclosed in your letter of April 25th.

Mr. Jago called the attention of the Vali of Tripoli to the matter, and the latter at once gave the necessary orders for the release of Zeid el Mal. Her owner, Senusi bin Hadji Mohamed, for a time succeeded in concealing her from the authorities, but she was liberated on the 30th April, and is now safe with her friends at Khoms.

I am, Sir, &c.,

(Signed) F. H. VILLIERS.

Slave Trade Papers.*

THIS yearly collection of documents, published in accordance with the terms of the Brussels Act, contains this year nearly 400 pages of matter, most of which bears upon the slave trade and slavery, the minor portion relating to the traffic in liquor and firearms. The countries to which these papers refer include Northern and Southern Nigeria, Egypt and the Soudan, British East Africa, French Congo, French West Africa, the Italian Colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland, the Red Sea Coasts, and German East Africa.

We need not allude to the reports from British possessions, as these have all been already noticed at the time that they were published here and presented to Parliament.

The report of the Zanzibar International Maritime Bureau for 1903 is a very short one. No judgment in a case of slave trading has been reported to the Bureau during the year, and no slave dhows have been caught, from which it is concluded that such offences have become more rare. For the reasons, we are referred to last year's report, which mentions the absence of any famine in the interior, the control of the waters between the island and the mainland, the abolition of the legal status in Zanzibar and the strict watch kept on all boats entering and leaving Zanzibar harbour.

There is still, however, among the natives, a lively fear of the Arab slave dealers; in April last a rumour got abroad that some Arabs had determined to embark a great number of slaves at Cocotoni (north of Zanzibar Island) in order to ship them off to the Persian Gulf. These Arabs were said to have built a fort to defend themselves against European attack. An English warship sent a detachment to Cocotoni, but nothing was found to confirm the rumour.

The report refers to the question of slavery in Benadir (Italian Somaliland) and the remarks thereon of M. Pestalozza, the Italian Consul General, who was

* Documents relatifs à la Répression de la Traite des Esclaves, Brussels, 1904.

commissioned by his Government to investigate the charges. M. Pestalozza's bold statement that "in fact the slave trade did not exist in any shape in the Benadir stations," appears to be irreconcilable not only with the report submitted to the Italian Anti-Slavery Society by the investigator whom they sent out, on which the shareholders of the Benadir Chartered Company took such prompt action, but even with the general purport and result of the official enquiry, which was to confirm to a large extent the charges which had been brought. It was admitted by the Acting Foreign Minister in a parliamentary debate which followed the publication of the official report that the work of the Company had fallen short of reasonable expectations, and that it had not fulfilled its civilizing mission.

M. Pestalozza, however, assured the Bureau that there had been much more smoke than fire, and that "the campaign initiated against the Italian Company had served to re-kindle the zeal of the local authorities at Benadir in the general interest of civilization and progress for which all the European Powers in Africa are labouring."

Domestic slavery was tolerated, but M. Pestalozza declared that there was no ill treatment. The report of this official to the Italian Foreign Minister is given in another part of the book, and shows that the Governor of Benadir found it necessary in March, 1903, to issue a proclamation prohibiting the sale, purchase, and hire of slaves, and their introduction into the country; all children born in the country within the last thirteen years were declared free, and the slave's right to property acquired by labour or by trading was asserted.

By another Ordinance six special tribunals were constituted to deal with matters relating to slavery, the judgments of which were to be based on the decrees of the Sultans of Zanzibar for the application of the Brussels Act. On this the Governor observed that it was dangerous to act with precipitation in a country like Somaliland, but it was desirable to follow without undue haste the example given by other colonizing nations, and while acting energetically and without hesitation, yet to use much tact and prudence in order to avoid provoking disturbances, which would only hamper the civilizing and humanitarian work so happily initiated.

From Eritrea (the possessions of Italy on the Red Sea) we have in this volume no less than three reports on the slave trade and slavery in 1901-1903, together with a large number of "annexes" relating to specific cases of slaves who have been officially set at liberty, and reports of naval and military officers. It is stated at the outset that trading in slaves has definitely become a thing of the past in Eritrea, only one tribe, the Rashaida, still engaging in it; there appear, however, to be occasional cases of kidnapping, and it is remarked that the coast line being very long, it is difficult to keep an effective watch over the whole area. As in the Egyptian Soudan, so in Eritrea, it is found that pilgrims to Arabia take with them women and children whom they sell, on arrival, in the markets, and there is a certain amount of piracy in the Red Sea, those captured being sold as slaves; the Italian Government has taken special means to suppress this.

Such slavery as exists is of a mild form, and as the Government aims at making it everywhere known that under Italian rule it is forbidden to deprive any one of his liberty, or to keep him in a state of subjection, Eritrea is regarded as a "promised land" by the slaves of neighbouring districts. The slaves who claim their freedom are generally women and girls. Among the papers here published is a copy of the decree of the Emperor Menelek, prohibiting traffic in slaves, to which we referred at the end of last year.

Some despatches from British Naval Officers in the Red Sea Division report the freeing of a slave, who asked for protection from an armed dhow belonging to H.M.S. "Harrier," one of the vessels engaged in the suppression of piracy and slavery off the Arabian Coast.

In a letter dated May, 1903, the Secretary of State for India made enquiry of the Indian Government whether provision is made in Indian ports for granting certificates of freedom to escaped slaves. The reply was that no such provision was made, nor was any thought necessary as regards Madras, Bengal and Burma, it being considered enough to leave the matter to be dealt with by commanders of vessels of war, under Article XXVIII. of the Brussels Act. The Government of Bombay reported that batches of freed slaves do occasionally arrive there from Aden and Muscat, and that in the opinion of the Governor "it might be useful and certainly could cause no inconvenience" to have officers "armed with powers under the Act to deal with cases of this nature." He proposed accordingly that certain officers at the three ports of Bombay, Karachi and Aden should be appointed to perform the duties in question.

The slave-dealing proclamation which was enacted for Southern Nigeria in February, 1901, is given in these pages in full; it recognises that the legal status of slavery has been abolished, and enacts that slave-dealing and pawn-slavery for debt shall be unlawful and punishable by imprisonment. All contracts recognising such practices shall be null and void.

In the French Congo a decree was passed last year to regulate labour contracts, the text of which is here published, and in Senegal measures have been taken to regulate the condition of children rescued from a condition of servitude whose parentage is unknown.

From German East Africa we have the following report for the year ending with March last :—

"In order effectively to oppose the slave trade, which continues to be carried on secretly in districts of the interior remote from military stations, the local authorities have received instructions to exercise a strict watch over the coloured petty dealers who buy slaves surreptitiously and bring them to the coast. In particular, it has been decided in conformity with the Imperial Chancellor's Ordinance of November, 1901, as to domestic slavery, that only the administrative authorities of the district in which the slave is settled, shall be competent to approve the transfer of the right of property over a domestic slave; that consequently, every demand for transfer of persons belonging to other districts, and especially to the interior, may be rebutted. More-

over, the legality of the servile condition must always be verified, and in case it cannot be established, a letter of freedom must be given to the slave. During the year under review (1st April, 1902, to 31st March, 1903) 2,420 letters of freedom have been given, against 2,037 during the previous year. Of this total, 723 have been freed on their redemption, 675 upon emancipation, 965 officially, 57 have been freed at the death of their master or for different reasons. The higher number of official enfranchisements (965 against 444) proves the opportuneness of the Chancellor's Ordinance of 1901 and the executive measures connected therewith. The terms of that Ordinance quickly became known among the native population; every slave knows to-day that he can purchase his freedom with a small sum, easily earned. The fact that only 723 slaves (against 646 in the previous year) profited by this opportunity shows the satisfactory relations prevailing between masters and slaves; the bond which unites them suits the character and customs of the negro, who sees nothing abnormal in it, but only advantage; there is no cruelty. The Ordinance opens a door for the complete suppression of slavery; this could, without inconvenience, be initiated by the liberation of all children born after a certain date, for example, when the Protectorate, thanks to improvement in its means of communication, shall feel it possible to substitute a modern economic system for the system of servile labour which has existed up to the present."

Under the heading of "Protection of Natives" we find an extract from the *Bulletin Officiel* of the Congo State for last year, in which are sung the praises of the great work accomplished by the State, and the results of a material and moral character which have been achieved "in spite of a systematic campaign against it." In the former category are mentioned the establishment of means of transport, the extension of administrative, judicial and sanitary works, the building of roads and railways, the founding of hospitals, the prohibition of traffic in firearms and spirits, and many other benefits. There is also a corresponding and inevitable improvement in the conditions of existence of the native wherever he comes into contact with European elements. Everything is done that can be done for his welfare. Measures have been taken to safeguard the individual liberty of the blacks, and especially to prevent contracts of service between blacks and non-natives from degenerating into disguised slavery. . . . One of the ends of the general policy of the State is "the regeneration of the race by inculcation of the higher idea of the necessity of labour." We are assured that military service is no undue burden upon the native, and the "prestations" are just as legitimate as the hut tax or any other native impost; they only entail on the native 40 hours' work per month.

The Colour Problem in the United States.

REPORTS of recent lynching outrages remind us how acute the race feud in America continues to be. The lynching by whites of a negro murderer in Springfield, Ohio, in March last, led the black population of the town to rise. This was followed by the invasion of the negro quarter by the whites, when twenty

tenement houses were burnt down, and the blacks were shot down wholesale. Seven regiments of the militia had to be called out to restore order in the town.

In Arkansas, not long after the previous case, a trivial dispute led to a racial fight in which several negroes were killed by the sheriff's officers, and five who were subsequently put in gaol were seized by the mob and lynched. The report added that all the wounded white men would probably recover.

More recently three negroes have been lynched in Mississippi, because two of them murdered white men. The third was apparently killed "by mistake" for one of the murderers, who was not at first discovered.

In Idaho, a white man named Myers, who was arrested for murdering one man and wounding another, was taken from the police, while on his way to gaol, by the mob and lynched.

An American religious journal declares—

"Lynching is no longer a sectional question. Northern mobs have become as vicious in their lawless attacks upon negroes as are Southern mobs. Good men, North and South, must unite to secure the supremacy of law."

Bishop Hoss, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has written in the *Nashville Banner*—

"The mob is anarchy, and the men who compose it are murderers To admit the propriety of irregular and lawless proceedings in one case is to open the way for the general disregard of constituted authority. The humblest negro . . . is as much entitled to the protection of his life and property as the richest and most reputable citizen . . . I sometimes fear that we are on the road to barbarism and savagery."

In the *North American Review*, Miss Terrell, President of the National Association of Coloured Women, states that 31 negroes were lynched in the first quarter of this year. She writes:—

"Hanging, shooting, and burning black men, women, and children in the United States, have become so common that such occurrences create but little sensation, and evoke but slight comment now."

A recent writer, in a thoughtful article in an English magazine, has pointed out that the present condition of the negro in the United States is one of serfdom. The labour laws of the South make the blacks serfs, and in Northern and Southern cities alike the colour line is drawn against the negro in competition; he suffers taxation without representation. Less than 20 per cent. of negro children are getting a good elementary education, and the whole social atmosphere is such as to foster hypocrisy or despair.

The perpetuation of the present state of negro serfdom would involve repression and degeneration, and the selfish interest of America is against it.

The extinction of the race would be a long and tedious process, and is not likely to take place unless reinforced by strong repressive influences. If emigration on a large scale were adopted the negro would only exchange one tyranny for another, and would probably be further from the reach of the sovereign power.

The only right and possible course is, in the writer's opinion, to do away with the colour line, and to recognise the negro as a citizen, and grant him full and fair rights.

He has learned to read and write, he has earned a living, he has bought 12,000,000 acres of land and saved property to the value of \$300,000,000. The race has also begun to furnish leaders, and the burden of proof lies rather on those who deny the capabilities of the negro than on those who would recognise them.

Slave Trading in French Congo.

It was reported not long ago in *West Africa* that two Natives had been arrested at Brazzaville and charged with being concerned in human traffic. One was a Senegalese, Diagouba, and the other a Congo man, a merchant named Caba Thiam. In the course of an investigation made on their premises one hundred and forty slaves were discovered, mostly children. The two culprits were to be haled before the Court of Assizes shortly after. This is not the first instance of slave trading discovered under the very noses of the authorities in French Congo, who, however, spare no efforts to stamp out the traffic.

The Development of Northern Nigeria.

We make the following extracts from a lecture which was given on this subject before the Colonial Section of the Society of Arts by Lady Lugard, the wife of the High Commissioner, in the earlier part of the year:—

"SLAVE RAIDING.

"From end to end of the Protectorate it was the habit of the strong to raid the weak for slaves. It is a habit which has endured for centuries. Until the application of modern science, railways, steamers, etc., made it possible for civilised administration to penetrate to the interior of continents, there was no opportunity for modern sentiment on this subject to make itself felt. And we have to remember that our own sentiment on this subject is of comparatively recent growth.

"In Nigeria, at the time of the transfer, the principal currency of the Protectorate was in slaves. Large sums were reckoned, not in pounds, but in slaves. Public tribute was paid in slaves. All labour was practically slave labour. The old annual system of raiding was maintained, and every year vast armies took the field for the purpose of raiding the villages and towns of those not strong enough to defend themselves. The pagans were, of course, the proper prey of the Fulani slave raiders, but as they became exhausted by the hideous desolation—for man may be destroyed just as game can be destroyed by indiscriminate hunting—or learned, as some of the hardier and more warlike learned, how to defend themselves from the raiders, the slave-raiding armies, turned themselves towards their own outlying rural populations. It became a case of action devouring itself, and in the later years of this destructive system the country

was being absolutely depopulated. Where Barth describes in 1854 a population of some fifty millions, there are, probably not more to-day than ten or twelve millions. Yet so wedded are the Fulani rulers to a system which is, after all, the only one they have known as a means of procuring wealth, that when, on the assumption of power by the British Government, the Emir of Bautshi was remonstrated with, and asked to give pledges of abstaining from slave raiding for the future, his reply was: "Can you stop a cat from mousing? When I die I shall be found with a slave in my mouth."

"I cannot dwell on the horrors which took place before our rule, but you can imagine for yourselves what it must have been in a country where not only every defenceless person but every defenceless village was liable to be marked out as the prey of marauding slave-hunters. And the populations which were so raided are naturally, for the most part, peaceable, lovers of agriculture and of the humbler kinds of domestic industry.

"What seemed imperative if order was to be established was to give protection to these, the natural inhabitants of the soil. To this end it was essential to stop slave raiding. And here, at its very source, in the centre of the Dark Continent itself, England may proudly boast that under her flag slave raiding has come to an end. About this time last year the West African Frontier Force conducted a successful campaign through Kano, Katsena and Sokoto, with the result that those provinces accepted the suzerainty of Great Britain on the same terms on which it had already been accepted by every other province of the protectorate. Amongst those terms the cessation of slave raiding stands first.

"THE CRUCIAL PROBLEM.

"But I have already said that slaves constitute the most important source of wealth of the rulers, to whom tribute in slaves has hitherto been paid. *It is therefore essential, if the rulers are to remain satisfied under the new conditions of their rule, to substitute some other form of wealth.* This is one of the difficult problems of administration with which it is hoped to deal successfully. In the province of Illorin, where we have been longest in occupation, it has been proved that in the increased prosperity which peace has brought, the regularity with which the Emir's tribute in money has been paid, has more than compensated him for the gains which he made under the old system. He professes himself to be entirely satisfied. It is not yet certain that this will apply in the provinces of Kano and Sokoto; but it is certain that no method of enrichment for a ruler can be more disastrous than that which spread ruin through his country; and it can, therefore, be only a question of finding the right way to give him a portion of the wealth produced, instead of the whole of the wealth producers of the country. If the country is richer, as it presumably will be, there should be no impossibility of finding a means to give him as much as he has had, and still to leave something *plus* their liberty for his subjects.

"DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

"Domestic slavery is a question apart from, though not unconnected with, slave raiding. The two questions have to be treated separately. The one involves a change in the whole intimate social system of the home; the other is a question of the maintenance of public order. There is a very great difference between the civilisation of a country in which the institution of domestic slavery is accepted, and that of a country in which the laying waste of vast areas and the enslavement by force of defenceless populations is permitted. In Nigeria it is judged that the time has not yet come for dealing directly with the question of domestic slaves.

" . . . The curse of slave-raiding, which was killing the land by depriving it of all the natural industry of its inhabitants, has been removed. In doing this force has been frankly used where it was necessary, either to maintain respect for treaty obligations contracted with us, or in opposition to other force with which we were threatened, but that force has always been exercised within the strictest limits of discipline. That it has never been abused may, I think, be inferred from the conditions which, after many campaigns, that must have spread the reputation of the army through the protectorate, were found to prevail during the recent expedition on the road to Kano and Sokoto."

Review.

THE SLAVE IN HISTORY.

By WILLIAM STEVENS.*

MR. STEVENS' interesting book is well described by its title, for while it does not profess to be a detailed history of slavery, it gives us a clear and most succinct account of the position of the slave and the feeling in regard to slavery in different periods of the world's history, thereby supplying a real want.

The scope of the book is briefly outlined in its opening sentences:—

"What the serpent was to Laocoon, slavery with its entwining folds and its slow torture has been to the world. The 19th century saw many changes but none of greater social effect than the movement which broke the power of slavery. A usage of primitive times, it had grown with the rise and fall of empires, and ruled as the sum of all tyrannies, the embodiment of all cruelties . . . till at last the spirit of free men rose against it. The struggle which followed was prolonged; it had its prophets and its martyrs . . . human sympathies that had been well-nigh strangled, awoke, put on their strength and did not slumber till they had won for the slave a place in the brotherhood of men. The final adjustment is yet to come.

The author truly remarks that although the narrative may seem in parts to be a thrice-told tale, it is probably but little known as a whole to this generation, and he has done a most useful work in gathering up these "scattered facts" into collected and compendious form.

In ancient Greece and Rome society was founded on a basis of slave-labour, the slave population being enormous, and constituting with all its mitigations a constant source of danger to the community. Great thinkers like Plato and Aristotle accepted slavery as a necessity, while seeking to modify the system and mitigate its incidents. The Stoic philosopher Epictetus saw the evil of the institution, but it was Christianity with its doctrines of the Incarnation and Redemption that gave a new value to human life and so put the slave on a new footing. "There was a large humanity in its early teaching," as Mr. Stevens reminds us, "that led on to brotherhood." Yet it was not possible for the infant Church to make a direct frontal attack on an institution so fundamental and deeply rooted; to awaken discontents that might lead on to servile revolt would have been to destroy both

* London: The Religious Tract Society.

society and the Church itself. At the same time, the principles and practices of Christianity were destined in the process of years to bring about a revolution. It is said to reflect how slow the process has been, and how powerful in every century have been the forces and "vested interests" which have been opposed to freedom.

"When Christendom supplanted heathendom, it was not as a realm of righteousness. The way of revelation was not in swift descent from the pinnacle of the temple, but by the toilsome path of suffering to the cross, and so the struggle of the nations has ever been by slow and painful stages from darkness into light."

As regards the attitude of Mohammedanism to slavery, it is true that Mohammed recommended the freeing of slaves and asserted the equality of believers, but "Mohammedan law," as Lieutenant Smith, once Vice-Consul at Zanzibar, has said, "permits slavery and regulates it . . . To a Mohammedan the institution seems natural and necessary."

The principles of Confucian teaching, on the other hand, appear, we are told, to have exerted an indirect influence hostile to slavery, although slavery exists and is recognised in China. The Chinese coolie trade of the 19th century, which led to such shameful cruelties, was carried on by Portuguese and others in defiance of the Chinese Government.

The introduction of negroes into Portugal in 1442 marks an epoch in the history of slavery. Prince Henry had captured and brought home some Moors, who offered for their ransom ten black slaves, with gold dust and other gifts. Two years later, 200 slaves were brought home as the result of an expedition to Lagos. Columbus sent back to Spain 600 captured Indians as slaves, but these were returned to Hispaniola by order of Queen Isabella. It is a significant fact, and one not without a present day application, that the gravest questions arose in the Spanish Colonies with the discovery of gold mines.

"Labourers were wanted for the mines, but they fell mysteriously away. Famine and disease carried off numbers, and thousands also perished under the conditions of a work for which they were not fitted. The excessive fatigue of long journeyings, scantiness of food, and all insanitary causes . . . combined to weaken and destroy. Forty thousand were brought in five years from the Lucayan Islands, to make good the deficiency in Hispaniola; some lived on, we are told, in patient despair, some refused sustenance, and others escaped to caves and unfrequented places."

Regulations were drawn up in Spain to control the labour of the Indian natives, but the cruelty and tyranny of the planters awakened the indignation of the missionary priest (afterwards Bishop) Las Casas, who returned to Spain to protest against the system of treating the natives and became known as "Protector of the Indians." Unfortunately his name is now better known in connection with his proposal made to the Spanish King in 1517 that each Spanish resident in Hispaniola should be allowed to import eight African negroes, probably with the view that they would be better able to bear the labour in the mines than the Indians. Though this was not the first time that negro slaves had

been brought across the Atlantic, it seems to have been at this period that the trade was made into a system, which was afterwards to attain such vast proportions. Las Casas lived to regret his action bitterly.

Another name which has an unenviable reputation in connection with slave trading is that of our own John Hawkins, who on his adventurous journeys to Hispaniola and to Guinea raided for negroes, whom he disposed of advantageously to the Spanish settlers, and returned to England covered with glory, to receive from Queen Elizabeth a knighthood, when he took for his crest a negro bound and captive.

Thus the infamous trade was set going, which, as Mr. Stevens says, "was to work havoc for centuries, and be suppressed with difficulty in the reign of Victoria." It increased through the 16th and 17th centuries, for the negro thrived and proved invaluable on the tobacco, sugar and cotton plantations. Of the way in which the trade was administered, little has ever been known, and the lack of knowledge may be pleaded as some excuse for the humanitarian apathy which prevailed. But it is a humiliating thought that by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 England obtained the monopoly of the negro slave trade to Spanish Colonies for 30 years. In the words of Bancroft, the United States historian:—

"Her Britannic Majesty did offer and undertake . . . by persons whom she shall appoint, to bring into the West Indies of America belonging to His Catholic Majesty, in the space of thirty years, 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4,800 in each of the said thirty years; paying, on 4,000 of them, a duty of thirty-three and a-third dollars a head. The *asientists* might introduce as many more as they pleased at the rate of sixteen and two-thirds dollars a head. Exactest care was taken to secure a monopoly. No Frenchman or Spaniard nor any other persons might introduce one slave into Spanish America. For the Spanish world in the Gulf of Mexico, on the Atlantic, and along the Pacific, as well as for the English colonies, Her Britannic Majesty, by persons of her appointment, was the exclusive slave-trader. England extorted the privilege of filling the New World with negroes."

The same authority estimated that, in the century preceding the American prohibition of the slave trade, not much fewer than 3,000,000 negroes were imported into America by the English alone, another quarter of a million having been thrown into the Atlantic on the voyage, while the profits of English merchants on these transactions may have been nearly 4,000,000 dollars.

Mr. Stevens observes:—

"In the history of the trade, there appear to have been periods of humane treatment, times and places at first where a negro might serve for a term, be paid a sum, and then go free; but no record, save it be in the books that lie open before the Great White Throne, could tell the sufferings of those millions thrown in confusion, helpless and bound, upon the western lands."

Protests against negro slavery began by being but "voices in the wilderness"; such men as George Fox, John Woolman, and other early Quakers here and in America, besides Richard Baxter, Bishop Berkeley, and others, pleaded the cause of the negro, and the first treatise expressly devoted to the subject

seems to have been written in the latter half of the 17th century by an English clergyman, Morgan Goodwyn, who had seen slavery in Barbadoes.

Mr. Stevens gives several chapters to the work of Granville Sharp, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Zachary Macaulay, in which he well shows how strong and how firmly established were the forces against which these great men fought, and how long and obstinate was the struggle.

The trade was rooted in long custom, and was, as it seemed, a vital part of commerce, with which immense wealth and enormous interests were bound up. Great writers and scholars wrote contemptuously of "this rage against slavery" and "these Utopian schemes of liberty."

Very common was the spirit of the slave-ship captain mentioned in Macaulay's diary who admitted that the slave trade was faulty; but who "did a good deal of good to the poor" when at home, in order to "atone for the slave-trade," and, while thinking religion "a very fine invention" which ought to be upheld, had "no notion of being righteous overmuch."

"This," says Mr. Stevens, "was but an extreme illustration of a spirit which from the days of Hawkins, as we have seen, widely prevailed, and which used the shield of a delusive faith to cover enormities of wrong, and so made the obstacle to progress tenfold greater."

The attitude of Boswell was very similar, who, in entering a protest against a deliverance of Johnson in favour of negro rights, spoke of "the wild and dangerous attempt" which was being made by zealots "to abolish so very important and necessary a branch of commercial interest" as one which excited his wonder and indignation.

"To abolish a status," he wrote, "which in all ages God has sanctioned, and man has continued, would not only be robbery to an innumerable class of our fellow-subjects, but it would be extreme cruelty to the African savages, a portion of whom it saves from massacre or intolerable bondage in their own country, and introduces into a much happier state of life."

The parliamentary struggle which ended in the abolition of the slave trade lasted for eighteen years, and was most ably led by Wilberforce. As early as 1787 an anti-slave trade committee had been formed, all of whose members but three belonged to the Society of Friends. But at a much later period, after the Act of 1838, Sir Fowell Buxton declared that the praise of the abolition of slavery must not be given to any single man. Referring to Wilberforce and Macaulay he said:—

"I know the obligations we owe them; but the voice of the Christian people of England was the *instrument* of victory. Its author, however, was not of human race; but, infinite in power, what His mercy decreed His fiat effected."

Mr. Stevens reminds us that the abolition work of the heroes of the anti-slavery movement was not the whole or even the chief part of their claim on our remembrance, but its indirect results—the change and enlargement of thought which followed emancipation—were more lasting in their importance than emancipation itself.

The contest for freedom in America and the life and influence of its leaders, Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, and Abraham Lincoln, are treated in several interesting chapters, and the present position of the negro in the United States is referred to. Very true is it in this connection that "the overthrow of slavery can never be more than prelude; it is the first not the final achievement . . . There are conditions of slavery that seem better than freedom; there are conditions of freedom that seem worse than slavery."

Mr. Stevens adverts in his closing chapters to the work of Livingstone, Gordon, Romolo Gessi, and Cardinal Lavigerie, and in alluding to the contrast between the pledges under which the Congo Free State was founded and the horrors and cruelties of the exploitation system now carried on there he significantly recalls the same truth, that there can be no finality in this struggle.

"The world is perilously near to repeating the mistakes of centuries past. Yet, as we measure the successive steps of progress, and the changes wrought in the face of evils that seemed overwhelming, we would blot the word despair out of history."

The spirit which obstructed abolition of slavery 100 years ago has still to be encountered, and we see the old arguments in favour of slavery repeated to-day in our newspapers with a strange sameness. Greed of gain has ever the effect of blinding our eyes to larger humanitarian considerations, and while the *name* of slavery is reprobated, the *thing* is too often condoned or even encouraged by specious arguments.

It is well, therefore, to have past struggles for freedom brought before our minds, and for these reasons we welcome Mr. Stevens' book as especially timely and important.

New Members of Committee.

THE following gentlemen have been elected Members of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society:

Sir Harry H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

Mr. J. Edmund Clark.

Sir H. Johnston has been hitherto a Corresponding Member of the Society, but being now resident in this country, he has accepted an invitation to join the Committee.

Mr. J. E. Clark is a son of Mr. James Clark, of Street, who was a member of the Committee for 25 years, and resigned in 1901, owing to his inability to attend the meetings.

PICTORIAL POST CARDS.

It is proposed to issue shortly a series of Picture Post Cards illustrative of anti-slavery subjects, and calculated to awaken interest in the work of the Society. Orders for packets, each containing 12 cards, price 7d., post free, should be addressed to the office, 55, New Broad Street, E.C.